000 To Dr. A. L. Kroeber, who directed my research, and to Mr. E. W. Gifford, who offered many suggestions incorporated in the ethnography, I am especially indebted. I wish also to thank Dr. C. F. Voegelin for frequent linguistic aid, Dr. A. H. Gayton for comparative references to mythological material, and Dr. Stanley Newman for information relative to the Yokuts names for tobacco.

128 Botanical specimens were identified and assigned to floral areas by Dr. Herbert L. Mason, of the University of California. Dr. Helen-Mar Wheeler, of the same institution, supplied information from field observations relative to two species of Nicotiana native to the Tübatulabal area. Miss Shirley Andress, of Weldon, allowed me to examine and photograph her Tübatulabal ethnographic specimens; Mr. P. Sumner Brown, of Kernville, put precipitation records at my disposal; and Mr. O. C. Bangsberg, of the Southern California Edison company, supplied information regarding the falls in the augmented Kern.

The occasional ethnographic specimens and models presented by informants and negatives taken during field work have been deposited in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley (museum catalogue numbers 1-28226 to 28228, 28570 to 28577, 28781 to 28789, 28811; 15-10538, 10541 to 10552, 10555, 10556, 10558 to 10560). The Museum has, besides this material, 36 ethnographic specimens from the Tübatulabal (1-19789 to 19825, 21064), collected chiefly by the late Dr. T. T. Waterman, a collection of Tübatulabal baskets from the E. L. McLeod collection (1-20944 to 20961), and 34 negatives (15-6240 to 6274) taken by Dr. Waterman. Museum catalogue numbers are identified throughout by prefix 1- (for specimens) and 15- (for negatives).

Genealogies of all informants and census data collected in the field, as well as a manuscript of 37 myths and variants collected jointly with Dr. C. F. Voegelin, and supplementing Dr. Voegelin's published collection of texts (Voegelin, 1935b), have been deposited with the Department of Anthropology, University of California.

Upon Dr. Kroeber's suggestion the ethnography is written mainly in a telegraphic style. Abbreviations as follows are also used: r., river; N, north (etc.); n., northern (etc.); elev., elevation; mt., mountain; mi., mile; yr., year; Calif., California.

Statements credited to specific informants are followed by the initials of the informant's English name, enclosed in parentheses.

Native names were written in a "broad transcription" with phonetic values as given in the Tübatulabal Grammar (Voegelin, 1935a, 55-87). However, following recent recommendations for a simpler orthography (AA 36: 629), Tübatulabal affricates, for example, being single phonemes,

•128 are written with single symbols. Altogether the changes are:

Old orthography		New (modified) orthography
tc	affricate	č
ts	affricate	c
dž	affricate	ǯ
dz	affricate	ʒ
c	sibilant	š

HABITAT

101 131 Tübatulabal linguistic group includes three discrete bands: Tübatulabal proper, situated now as aboriginally on lower reaches of South Fork of Kern r.; Palagewan, formerly living on unaugmented Kern; Bankalachi, a few miles W of Palagewan on [177] w. slopes of Greenhorn mts. (fig. 1). Tübatulabal band alone has survived white contact; this study primarily concerned with culture of this group. Information gathered from Tübatulabal informants concerning Palagewan and Bankalachi is ascribed specifically to these latter bands.

197 101 Linguistic affiliations and name.- Dialects of Tübatulabal and Palagewan, said by informants to be slightly different but mutually intelligible (Voegelin, 1935a, p. v), plus Bankalachi dialect which differed very little from that of Tübatulabal, comprise Tübatulabal language; this is sole language in Kern River branch, one of 4 primary branches, of Shoshonean stock (Kroeber, 1907, 97, 98, 100). To N and NE of Tübatulabal are Western Mono and Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono), whose speech belongs to Mono-Bannock division of Plateau branch of Shoshonean; to E, Koso or Panamint of Shoshoni-Comanche division of Plateau Shoshonean; to SE and S, Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu of Ute-Chemehuevi division of Plateau Shoshonean. Farther SE, S, and slightly SW are Vanyume, Kitanemuk, and Alliklik respectively, of the Serrano division of Southern California branch of Shoshonean (Kroeber, Handbook, 577, pl. 78). To W and SW are Yokuts and farther SW Chumash (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 78), neither Shoshonean.

101 Tübatulabal refer to themselves as pahkanapil; older informants also recognize tIbatulabal which "was applied like a nickname by other tribes such as the Chumash, Kawaiisu, and some Yokuts groups" (SM, PN). PN said pahkanapil also sometimes used term formerly to refer to themselves. Both SM, PN said 2 names given above applicable not only to group living on South Fork of Kern r., but to other group on unaugmented Kern as well; Kroeber (Handbook, 607) and Gifford (1917, 220) use Tübatulabal in this sense, treating the 2 groups as single unit. For several reasons I treat these 2 groups separately. In giving genealogy SM referred to himself and his father as pahkanapil, but to his father's father, who lived

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The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

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and not merely the ordinary term plus a suffix as in the case of relatives by affinity. The terms applied to five such relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relatives were obtained. The suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ is added in these cases, apparently with some such meaning as "used to be;" for this is the meaning given for the analogous Kawaiisu suffix -puni or -repuni. Doubtless the suffix is added to other Tübatulabal terms of affinity besides the five mentioned, but examples were not obtained. It is not unlikely also that the term nawasu (child's spouse's parent) is changed upon the death of one of the connecting relatives, just as the corresponding Kawaiisu term teeni is changed (see p. 232). The Tübatulabal term kali (father's sister's husband) and its identical-reciprocal take the suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ (see p. 222). On this account it is suspected that all other analogous terms for aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews by affinity likewise take this suffix. However, information on this point was not obtained.

In the following list m. s. and w. s. stand respectively for "man speaking" and "woman speaking."

TÜBATULABAL RELATIONSHIP TERMS[5]

ana. Father (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare kumu (father), abu (mother), and ümü (mother).

kumu. Father (after death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), father's older brother, mother's sister's husband older than father, stepfather. Reciprocals: tumu (son; daughter; brother's child, m. s.; wife's sister's child), aiyawutawa (stepson), anociwan (stepdaughter). It is interesting to note that kumu, the term for father's *older* brother, is used for stepfather, while yugu, the term for mother's *younger* sister, is used for stepmother.

abu. Mother (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare ümü (mother), ana (father), and kumu (father).

ümü. Mother (after the death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), mother's older sister, father's brother's wife older than mother. Reciprocal: tumu (son; daughter; sister's child, w. s.; husband's brother's child).

[5] The terms anociwan, kuñan, pauwan, soiyin, tohan, wüñin, and yuguan were always given with the terminal -n, which means "my" (see A. L. Kroeber, Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., VIII, 262, 1909). The terms agist, amust, hümübic, impaiyis, wasumbis, wo.ict, and ya.ubic were never given with the terminal -n. The remaining terms were given both with and without it, and are here listed without it. In reference, and sometimes in address, the suffix -nuñ, also with the meaning "my," is added to the term as in wasumbisnuñ, tôhanuñ, and kutcinuñ.

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informant for wife's sister's daughter. The third informant also gave aiyawutawa for wife's sister's son. In the list on page 222 the meanings of these two terms appear as stepdaughter and stepson respectively, as these are the only positively ascertained meanings.

Mrs. John Nicolas, a Kernville Tübatulabal, gave osambis as the term for sister's child (w. s.). She was very positive about it, and although it was obtained from no one else, it may represent a dialectic difference. An Onyx (South Fork of Kern River) informant, Tom Pope, stated that the people about Kernville, on the main Kern River, used certain terms which were not used on the South Fork. He mentioned as an example the term hôki, which is the term for a grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. According to Mrs. Nicolas, there were two terms for great-grandparents, saka for great-grandfather, ipi for great-grandmother, with reciprocals sakabin and ipibin. Other informants gave saka for both grandparents. This, too, may be a dialectic difference. As shown in the case of the Miwok, such variations in a relationship system may occur within a few miles.[8]

UNCERTAIN USAGES OF TERMS*

Relationship	*Informants*					
	Bill Chico	Petra Miranda	Clotilda L. Gomez	Tom Pope	Mrs. John Nicolas	Indian Henry
Wife's sister's child	kali	——	*tumu*	kalibin	kalibin	aiyawutaw anociwan
Wife's sister	*yuguan*	——	piya	*yuguan*	*yuguan*	tugu
Sister's husband (w. s.)	*piya*	kumobic	*piya*	*piya*	*piya*	kumobic
Brother's wife (m. s.)	——	tumubic	piya	piya	*tugu*	*tugu*
Husband's sister	——	kumoanana	tugu	tugu	*hümübic*	*hümübic*
Wife's sister's husband	——	impaiyis	——	——	patci	piya
Husband's brother's wife	——	anakutcim	——	——	anakutcim	tugu

* After this table was in type the following terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law were secured from Mrs. Mary Imitirio, a Tübatulabal woman living on Tule River Indian Reservation, Tulare County, California: Wife's brother, piya; sister's husband (m. s.), piya; wife's sister, yuguan; sister's husband (w. s.), piya; husband's brother, ya.ubic; brother's wife (w. s.), tugu; husband's sister, hümübic, brother's wife (w. s.), tugu.

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The analysis of the Tübatulabal terms of relationship in the succeeding table is on the basis of the eight categories set forth by Dr. A. L. Kroeber.[9] His eighth category, "Condition of the connecting relative," is here amplified in meaning so as to cover the change of terms for father and mother following the death of one or more of their children (see abu and ümü = mother, ana and kumu = father,

[8] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 172–174, 1916. Compare the meanings of ate, kole, and tcale.

[9] Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 78, 1909.

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in the preceding list on p. 222.) The cross used in the following table indicates the expression of a category by a term.

In the following table the category "Generation" is undoubtedly expressed by more terms than would be the case if fuller genealogical

CATEGORICAL ANALYSIS OF TÜBATULABAL KINSHIP TERMS

Term	Generation	Blood or marriage	Lineal or collateral	Sex of relative	Sex of connecting relative	Sex of speaker	Age in generation	Condition of connecting relative
abu	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×
agist	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
agistbin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
aiyawutawa	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
aka	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
akabin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
amüst	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	—
ana	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	×
anociwan	×	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
apa	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
apavin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
hôki	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	×
hümübic	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	—
impaiyis	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
kalibin	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	×
kali	×	—	×	×	×	—	—	×
kumu	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	×
kuñan	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	—
kutei	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—
nalawi	×	×	—	—	—	—	×	—
nawasu	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
patei	×	×	—	×	—	—	×	—
pauwan	×	—	×	×	×	—	—	—
piya	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	×
saka	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
sakabin	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
soiyin	×	×	—	×	—	×	—	—
tasi	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×
tohan	×	—	×	×	—	—	×	—
tugu	—	×	—	×	—	—	—	—
tumu	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
utsu	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	—
utsubin	×	×	—	—	×	×	—	—
ümü	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	×
wasumbis	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	×
wô.ict	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
wüñin	×	×	—	×	×	—	—	×
ya.ubic	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	—
yugu	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	—
yuguan	—	×	—	×	×	×	—	—
Terms*	36	31	10	25	17	11	7	11

* Number of terms in which each category is expressed.

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might break down this complete expression of the category. In Tübatulabal four out of forty terms fail to express this category; one of these four is the term hôki, which is applied to either grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. The remaining three are the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, which are applied also to spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, a very different classification from the Kawaiisu which has already been discussed.

The difference in the expression of the category "Blood or marriage" in the two languages is largely due to the difference, just mentioned, in the classification of spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, which among the Kawaiisu are classed as grandparent and grandchild. This difference alone takes eight Kawaiisu terms out of this category. The corresponding Tübatulabal terms for grandparent and grandchild naturally fall under this category, as they all definitely express consanguinity without expressing affinity also.

The other categories are expressed quite similarly by the relationship systems of the two languages, with the exception of the categories "Sex of relative" and "Sex of speaker." The difference in the first instance is the result of the Tübatulabal uniting of great-grandson and great-granddaughter on the one hand and great-grandfather and great-grandmother on the other hand, while the Kawaiisu distinguish two great-grandchildren and two great-grandparents. In the second instance, "Sex of speaker," the difference is due to the use of identical-reciprocals for nepotic relatives by the Kawaiisu and to their non-use, except in one case (kali-kalibin), by the Tübatulabal.

Like the last table, the following table presents a categorical comparison, also in percentages of the number of terms, of the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu kinship systems and those presented by Dr. A. L. Kroeber in his paper on the "Classificatory Systems of Relationship."[17] For Dr. Kroeber's Miwok figures those of the writer[18] have been substituted. It is clear that in at least one category, "Lineal or collateral," the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu hold a unique position and have no near approach in any of the other systems here presented, except the Miwok.[19]

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[17] Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., xxxix, 79. 1909.

[18] Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., xii, 171, 1916.

[19] The comparisons in the three succeeding tables must be used with reservation, as a factor of uncertainty has been introduced by differences in the collecting of the data. For Miwok the material is far more detailed than for the other groups.